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ABSTRACT

An analysis of the facts and opinions on rural poverty presented in over 1,000 pages of testimony to the Pennsylvania Panel on Rural Poverty is presented in this report. The problem of poverty is discussed in general and also as it specifically relates to Pennsylvania in terms of conditions, causes, proposals for improvement, comments, and the effects of the extractive tax. Other poverty problems are discussed in the areas of water resources, sewerage, housing, medical services, welfare, education and schools, and transportation. The problems, proposals for improvement, and additional comments are listed for each of the problem areas. Major conclusions from the analysis are that water and sewer facilities need to be improved in much of rural Pennsylvania, that existing public programs are not serving the housing needs of the rural poor, and that medical care is fragmented, spotty, and inadequate. (PS)

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FINAL SUMMARY REPORT, THE PENNSYLVANIA PANEL ON RURAL POVERTY

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Milton J. Shapp, Governor
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

William H. Wilcox, Secretary
Department of Community Affairs

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FINAL SUMMARY REPORT,

THE PENNSYLVANIA PANEL ON RURAL POVERTY

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

NOVEMBER, 1971

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The Honorable Milton J. Shapp
Governor, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

Dear Governor Shapp:

I herewith submit "Final Summary Report, The Pennsylvania Panel on Rural Poverty."

The report is an analysis of statements, with their supporting documents, made by over 100 witnesses representing a wide range of interests and backgrounds during three days of public hearings in rural Pennsylvania in June and July of 1971. Thus, the Report is not necessarily the viewpoints of the Panel or of the Department of Community Affairs; it is an analysis of the facts and opinions presented in over 1,000 pages of testimony to the Panel on Rural Poverty, chaired by Senator Stapleton, chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture.

Secretary McHale of the State Department of Agriculture and I served as "permanent" members of the Panel with the following officials and citizens serving as "temporary" panel members in their geographic areas of interest:

Indiana Borough, Indiana County

Representative C. Doyle Steele
Representative William Rodger Shane

Waynesburg, Greene County

Representative Ben L. Parker
Judge Glenn Ray Toothman, Jr.
Judge Charles G. Sweet
Arlo G. Swanson, Department of Agriculture

Sunbury, Northumberland County

Representative Franklin L. Kury
Mrs. Owen Anderson
William McLaughlin

The Report contains many suggested changes and improvements in State policy which justify intensive consideration by a wide range of State Departments and agencies.

At the risk of overlooking several equally important conclusions let me cite but three which seem to stand out as calling for early action:

(1) Water and sewer facilities need to be improved in much of rural Pennsylvania, particularly in the isolated and poverty stricken villages of the landless rural poor.

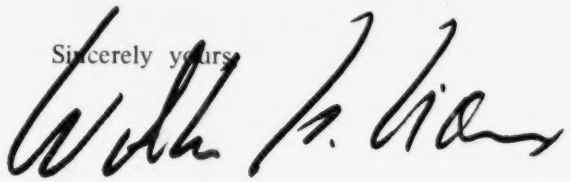
(2) Existing public programs are not serving, in any significant way, the housing needs of the rural poor.

(3) Medical care is fragmented, spotty and inadequate.

In each of these categories, Federal and State policies, as now administered, are failing to confront the rural poverty needs of Pennsylvania citizens. Similar problems exist in public transportation, education, and human services programs.

One final thought: At these hearings I was struck by the absurdity of an urban-rural contest for public concern and the public dollars. The rural poor and the urban poor suffer from similar indignities and neglect. They have much reason for a common cause.

Sincerely yours,



William H. Wilcox
Secretary

I. INTRODUCTION

1. THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY

Poverty was defined by one witness, a planner, in the following terms:

> *Poverty implies a lack of resources for a reasonable living, having little or no means to support oneself. ... A low-income family pays less in taxes, but the need for services is as great or greater than the higher incomes. They have few or no alternatives in housing, recreation, transportation, or to other basic needs. They lack salable skills or a strong educational background. To segments of the community, they are the unwanted or undesirable. To the government and its agencies, they create many problems.*

Another witness went further to characterize many of the poor as those who have not learned, or for physical reasons may not be able, to perform "normal" functions or to support themselves and their families; dependency is learned, and continues as a way of life. A panelist stated:

> *It will take eleven billion dollars to bring the people out of poverty in this nation, and I think we'd better reorder priorities.*

2. RURAL POVERTY

It was stated several times at the hearings that more than half of the poverty in the U.S. is in the rural areas, while less than 35 per cent of the population lives outside the metropolitan areas.

A consultant to the State Department of Agriculture traced some of the causes of rural poverty to "Decapitalization" of young people by outmigration, a movement which represents a loss of more than $100 billion each generation and to an unfavorable balance of payments with urban areas, a net loss reported at $150 billion represented by the purchase of goods and services from urban areas compared with rural income.

Other causes cited, which more accurately may be part of a cause-effect cycle, are inadequate health services, inadequate educational facilities and quality and insufficient occupational opportunities.

Another witness referred to a situation of "poverty in the midst of poverty"; "The environment fosters a process that traps whole generations." A county planner stated:

> *Rural poverty is not dominated by farm people, but rather it is identified with non-farm population, in excess of 75 per cent.*

However, the economic situation for farmers also was described as increasingly precarious, with the farm debt nationally at $60 million, up 8 per cent from 1969 and tripled since 1960; and with farm prices at 67 per cent of "parity", their lowest level since 1933.

A report published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture included a description of rural poverty in 15 states, including Pennsylvania, which was entered into the record of the Greene County hearing. Characteristics described include relative isolation and lack of arteries of transportation and communication; long family histories of poverty and dependence on off-farm income or welfare; primary dependence, not on agriculture but on such declining industries as mining; small, uneconomic farms; low educational attainment; and outmigration of youth, and the disillusioned return of many ill-equipped to compete in urban areas.

3. RURAL POVERTY IN PENNSYLVANIA

a. Conditions

At all three hearings, a considerable volume of statistical data was introduced into the records, relating primarily to population characteristics and economic conditions in the regions centered by the hearings. Also introduced, or given directly, were several lengthy statements expressing analyses of conditions, causes and possible solutions to rural poverty in Pennsylvania. Because of the volume of this material, only brief summaries and highlights are included here. The data was submitted primarily by labor market analysts, planning commissions, or associations performing planning functions.

Several witnesses stated that the rural areas of Pennsylvania, which have only 20 per cent of the population, contain 50 per cent of the poverty. Another witness reported, (possibly from the same Community Services of Pennsylvania survey), that 13.9 per cent of Pennsylvanians were living in poverty, but the percentage for Northumberland County was 22.6 per cent. He added that rural Pennsylvania contained 30 per cent of the State's poverty, but that only 10 per cent of the poverty funds had reached the rural areas.

For Indiana County, a witness stated, the "magnitude of poverty" in 1966 exceeded that of 89 per cent of all U. S. counties; 4,309 families received incomes below recognized poverty levels, and from 1947 to 1960, total income from wages, salaries and business ownership declined considerably. Real personal income in that time increased only 16.2 per cent, compared with a State average of 41 per cent. Between 1960 and 1970, 23,000 persons emigrated from the county; for the State, the total outmigration totaled about 400,000 persons, most of them from rural areas.

In the 11-county labor market area which includes Indiana County, it was reported that a previous trend toward higher employment levels are reversing, and that by July 1972, more than 23,000 persons will be unemployed. For Armstrong County, the unemployment rate for February, 1971, was reported to be 10.2 per cent of the work force.

The Chairman quoted statistics which showed Greene County to be among the poorest: A population loss of 8.5 per cent from 1960 to 1970; per capita income about half the state average; 9.7 per cent unemployment, more than double the national average; a median of 8.6 school years completed by the adult population; and an infant mortality rate 11 per cent above national averages. Others reported a decline of 1,000 in the county's work force; 11.6 per cent of the population on relief rolls, third highest in the State; poor educational and recreational facilities; lack of a substantial labor pool to attract new employers; and declines of 46 and 50 per cent respectively in mining and agricultural employment, the two major industries. A 1966 survey showed 22.9 per cent of the families below $2,611 in annual income, the poverty level for a rural family of four persons. This Community Services of Pennsylvania report stated: "These problems have existed for generations and have grown more intensive over the years with the decline in the agriculture-mining-based economy."

Income statistics were used to support the contention that rural poverty exists, and that it is widespread and serious in Pennsylvania. Considerable testimony, from these and other witnesses, related to the conditions associated with poverty, particularly for low-income persons and families but also as they affect the entire rural environment. Many of the more serious are summarized in later sections of this report, but the conditions generally identified included:

Poor housing and insufficient housing supply; inadequate, or complete absence of, suitable water supply and sewerage; air and water pollution; educational deficiencies; insufficient health and nutrition services; increasing drug and alcohol problems; poor and deteriorating roads and a severe shortage of public transportation; insufficient recreational and cultural facilities; a population profile showing increases in the number of the very young and very old who require the most from public institutions, and fewer persons in the productive age group because of

outmigration, resulting from extremely limited employment opportunities: this profile results in an increasing burden on those remaining in the productive population for support of services and increasing difficulty for public and private institutions in raising funds to supply even minimal services.

One witness pointed out that, for many rural areas, expansion problems may be more serious than those associated with decline, because of the increased pressure for expanded services for which there is a lag of several years in revenues; the costs fall more heavily upon an economy already relatively destitute. Also identified, in this direction, was the commuter-recreational type subdivision developments which threaten to desecrate and pollute large rural areas. The rural areas face such special problems as pollution from agricultural chemicals and solid waste pollution; different kinds of special problems include seasonal unemployment, related both to agriculture and to tourism where recreation is a major industry; and to psychological factors such as community identification and life styles which may be unsatisfied by urban-oriented assistance programs. A witness also noted that:

> *The rural community offers certain qualities of living not measured by incomes. Income becomes important only when the rural resident must respond to cash flow costs to support capital development and is frequently forced to liquidate land assets to meet his cost.*

This statement suggests that basic, and often unnoticed, differences between rural and urban economies may make programs geared to urban development, unsuitable for rural areas.

b. Causes

Various witnesses testified as to causes of the economic decline of Pennsylvania's rural areas. These generally were related to more or less coincident declines in the major economic bases of the rural areas: agriculture, the extractive industries, and forestry.

The agricultural decline was traced primarily to the general cost-price squeeze, which has resulted in decreased farm employment through consolidation, mechanization and farm abandonment; also noted was a decline in incentive on the part of farmers resulting from low commodity prices and low farm wages and, in some cases, from poor farm management. One witness pointed out that sheep grazing, once important in Western areas, has almost disappeared.

At the same time, the depletion of coal, oil and gas deposits, mechanization of coal operations and an increasingly unfavorable market position of coal as an energy source, has left large numbers unemployed and numerous "pockets of poverty" in the mining towns. One witness described this stagnation: "There has been little or no change in some areas of this region in 150-200 years." Concerning Armstrong County, one witness stated, "Employment problems are primarily related to the decline of the stone, glass and clay manufacturing resources."

There was less testimony regarding the decline in forestry industries, but this factor is probably of importance primarily because it is a part of the general decline. No testimony was given on the possibility that other factors were involved such as the decline in employment in transportation industries, especially railroads and the proportionate increase in low-wage, labor-intensive industries in rural communities. In Indiana County, a witness noted that the construction of a generating plant provided little real improvement because much of the labor was imported, and local persons employed on the project were left with no jobs to go to when it was completed.

One witness testified to the immediate "causes" which tend to perpetuate poverty for those most seriously affected by the general decline in the rural economic bases. He included low wage levels, overstatement of estimated bills by utilities, improper management of personal finances, excessive commercial profit margins, high prices for goods and services, high loan interest

rates, partiality in the educational system, dissemination of information on aid programs only to a few, and even disinterest and noninvolvement of the clergy in the problems of the poor. Other testimony related to the practices of rural "slum landlords."

A witness noted that adjustments of rural residents in their life styles in response to conditions have included out-migration, mothers working outside the homes, and men and women commuting 100 or 150 miles to work daily. Others testified to the personal disintegration which may result from prolonged poverty and unemployment.

c. Proposals

Witnesses presented a wide range of proposals, for approaching the economic problem of rural poverty -- these are in addition to proposals, summarized in following sections of this report, for improving conditions resulting from, or incidental to, rural poverty.

Suggestions for economic improvement generally may be classified into three areas: upgrading the rural economic base; improving or establishing programs to increase the income of, or improve delivery of services to, particular groups of the rural poor; and comprehensive activity aimed at total rural development. Almost exclusively, the proposals call at least for legislative action on Federal, State and/or local levels, and most represent plans for rechanneling financial aid programs or for new fund programs.

(1). Suggestions for improvement of the rural economic base included industrial, agricultural, extractive and recreational development type projects. A typical, but more specific, suggestion by the Greene County Industrial Development Corporation was elimination of the State matching fund requirement under the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority (PIDA) and Site Development Acts for rural areas and its replacement by a comprehensive grant and loan program for grading, utility extensions and interior road construction for industrial parks; delay of loan payments also would be permitted until the project became productive by transfer to an industrial user. Other suggestions included tax incentives and interest subsidies for commercial or industrial expansion and pilot programs under which the State would finance shell structures for industrial use.

Proposals for improving the agricultural economy also included two extensive program proposals. These were: comprehensive programs based on market analysis and crop programming; planning which involves the impact on agriculture of urban expansion into rural areas; establishment of a State farm marketing center; land inventory and land use planning at the State level; technical assistance; long-term loans and grants for rural infrastructure, housing, and solid waste disposal; and establishment of a "Pennsylvania Agriculture Development Authority," a rural development bank and farm credit system. Also specifically suggested was a farm real estate tax based on productivity rather than land value.

Proposals related to economic development, contained in other sections of this report, include those for improvement in education and transportation.

(2). Most of the testimony on increased incomes for particular groups related to economic improvement was in this category, and several of the programs entered into the record are detailed. Proposals included:

Some form of minimum income; purchase of the homes of the aging by the Federal Government in exchange for an annuity; liberalization of Social Security regulations; a universal health insurance plan; investment counseling; increases in retirement benefits to match increases in the cost of living; agencies to work with the aged in helping secure employment and services; child and youth development centers; day care centers; and various kinds of self-help and community-help programs for the aged.

The Susquehanna Economic Development Association presented a detailed proposal for a comprehensive "opportunity center" which would be:

> *Capable of addressing all of the problems of the client; it must have the capability to solve the problems or ameliorate them to the extent that the client can manage his own affairs in the private sector with the minimum level of help from the public sector. Obviously, this solution will require the integration of countless autonomous agencies, organizations, institutions, and government entities.*

Probably mentioned most often, however, as solutions to the problems of individual poverty were establishment of (1) public service programs to provide employment, and (2) vocational training. One example of the employment project, which was the subject for several witnesses, is the U. S. Department of Agriculture's "Green Thumb" program which provides employment for older persons in rural areas. Also mentioned were the Main Stream and the Youth Corps Programs. A county planner stated:

> *More than anything, the rural community needs non-welfare type of aid--that which produces self help and self support products in rejuvenated citizens.*

(3). Suggestions with respect to comprehensive approaches were less detailed, except for the proposals for comprehensive regional farm planning and marketing. These included the suggestion previously mentioned, for land-use planning at the State level. Another witness proposed to the same end that scattered development be stopped by the strategy of not extending roads and utilities except to specific areas, with public notice of the development plan. The Department of Community Affairs' legislative proposal for a State Land Development Agency to make use of Federal and State grant and loan programs for community development and new towns, and the proposed Pennsylvania Public Service Employment Act for Rural Development (Senate Bills 939 and 1044) were referenced as possible State programs. SEDA itself represents an area-wide, cross-community organization for comprehensive action in several fields. More lateral intergovernmental cooperation, such as councils of government, was mentioned in various contexts. The proposals for intensive pilot programs in specific areas are comprehensive within those areas. There were no witnesses representing the Appalachia program, but it was mentioned as an attempt at cooperation and program consolidation. One witness suggested a Statewide conference on rural poverty. The general approach of those recommending comprehensive action probably was summed up by the witness who stated:

> *... Some sort of substantial economic and industrial effort will have to be made that would serve both the urban and the rural portions of the market area if anything useful is to happen with respect to the problem.*

d. Comments

A witness at one hearing commented: "This, in context, is a huge, complex problem that we face."

It is, of course, an economic problem. But while poverty in an affluent area may be primarily one of distribution of resources among sectors of the local economy, rural poverty involves the distribution of resources to entire geographical areas as well. As was quoted above, "poverty in the midst of poverty."

At least to some extent, rural poverty in Pennsylvania today represents the aftermath of the economic exploitation of the physical resources of some areas to the benefit of others, especially in coal extraction. It continues in the form of migration to urban areas which benefit from the human resources which have been financed, in the form of child-rearing and education, by rural areas; there also is unquestionably some exploitation in other forms, including labor,

commerce and capital. Meanwhile, as the hearings showed, rural Pennsylvania has many problems faced by urban areas--pollution, provision of health services, substandard housing, transportation problems, education--and some of these problems are more general in rural than in urban settings. One of the worst problems for rural Pennsylvania has been the comparative invisibility of its poverty, and these hearings have been one step in correcting this deficiency.

The hearings show that the economic gap between town and country continues to widen. As Secretary McHale said, a reordering of priorities is needed. It will not be an easy task, however, to reverse the present trends, especially since the "balance of power"--politically--already has shifted to the cities and their suburbs. The rural areas will have to expend considerable political capital to turn the tide; but there is evidence that this effort has begun.

The State has, in the past, left the geographical development of the economic base primarily to private and local initiative. However, the Department of Commerce, PIDA and the Department of Transportation may exercise some options in the distribution of program funds. The Department of Community Affairs is becoming increasingly involved through aids to local planning, councils of government, the new Pennsylvania Housing Agency, the assistance to and administration of some programs for antipoverty agencies, and in development of local recreation sites and programs; there is a prospect that more "urban redevelopment" may assist rural development, and that the desperate need for adequate housing in rural areas may result in increased State program aid for those areas.

Also evident is an effort to shift priorities of the Department of Agriculture toward the total problems of rural Pennsylvania, as opposed to exclusive emphasis on technical assistance to agricultural enterprise (as represented, in part, by the establishment of a Bureau of Rural Affairs and by statements and programs of the Secretary).

The State Planning Board, in its present work of development of a State comprehensive plan, also has been involved especially as this work may lead to a proposed State land-use plan. Many departments are in the process of revising their concepts of regional delivery of services.

Continuing communication, cooperation and consultation throughout State government will be required to meet the double problem of correcting the deficiencies which rural poverty already has caused and of providing the economic basis which is the only long-range solution. Rural Pennsylvania still has many resources, human, economic and aesthetic, to support its own recovery; the need is to provide a "helping hand" and a pattern for the best development of those resources and the equitable distribution of the proceeds.

As a witness in Indiana concluded his testimony:

> *Gentlemen, by sitting here today, you have opened up the proverbial Pandora's Box on rural poverty. You cannot close the lid. Your only alternative is to act. You must help us solve our problems!*

e. Extractive Tax

At the Indiana and Greene County hearings a witness suggested a severance tax on minerals. One stated that at 50 cents per ton, based on 1968 coal production, a return of $37,857,000 per year could be anticipated, and that the tax would raise the price of coal from $9.30 to $9.80. Most of the coal is sold to power producers who, he said, are "mostly out of the State." The other witness stated, "Right now, approximately 50 per cent of Greene County's assessed valuation is underground. We are terribly dependent on our coal, gas and oil." He suggested use of the proceeds for such local expenses as schools. At the Indiana hearing, the constitutionality of such a tax was questioned.

The question of the severence tax is related to that of assessment and taxation of underground reserves. The witnesses did not consider the important question of whether production should be taxed by the municipality or by the State, and in either case whether it should be earmarked for particular uses. A current legislative proposal before both Houses of the General Assembly would impose a tax to be used only for land reclamation, with any excess to be returned to the mine operator.

The question of constitutionality probably could most easily be solved by imposing the tax on the privilege of removing minerals (an approach used in the new income tax law, based on a history of Pennsylvania court decisions). Issues concern the political feasibility of such a tax, the level of government at which it might be imposed, the level of taxation for maximum yield without adversely affecting prices and production, and the distribution of the revenue.

The proposal should be studied as a part of the State's continuing investigation into the structure of local and State taxation, to which the Legislature, the Department of Community Affairs, and the Department of Revenue are contributing, and any proposal should be a part of, or at least compatible with, a comprehensive "reform" program expected as a result of these studies.

4. THE RELATIONSHIP OF RURAL POVERTY TO URBAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

a. Problem

There were references in some testimony to the interrelationship of urban and rural problems; primarily these indicated a transfer of poverty problems from rural to urban areas with migration of the poor. One witness said:

> *Unless our city cousins share a little more of their opportunity with us, then more and more of us in the rural areas will be buying one-way tickets for a long visit with our city cousins. Could the answer to the urban crisis not be to treat the problem at its roots in the rural areas instead of the more expensive way of treating the effect in urban areas which has not been too successful?*

Another witness saw the migration problem as one of development policy, rather than the transfer of social problems:

> *Of major concern to society is, or should be, the impact on urban areas which the rural out-migration has had. The long range solution to the urban problems of over population has to be a stabilization of the present continuing out-migration and a reversal of the movement of people away from the large urban centers.*

A second direction indicated in the urban-rural relationship is the spread of the suburbs into rural land and its impact on the rural economy. A witness pointed out that Union and Snyder Counties, counted as "rural," are among the top 15 in the State in population increase. As was noted previously, this expansion creates pressures on the rural economy for provision of expensive services which the indigenous population cannot handle; for example, a farm assessed on the front-foot basis for a sewer line.

b. Comments

The State is not "ready" for the extensive kinds of controls which would be needed

to stop either the rural-to-urban migration, or the expansion of the metropolis into the countryside, and the desirability of such controls can be seriously doubted. It is not clear that general statements regarding the transfer of rural social problems to the cities refer specifically to intrastate migration. As was noted earlier, migration probably represents an economic advantage to urban areas: holding the poor in the rural areas would not, of itself, solve their problems. It would simply hold them a while longer in isolation, and delay and intensify the final strain of adjustment.

Improving the rural economic picture could be expected to alter the mobility pattern, however; this change should be viewed as an effect of a general policy of rural economic improvement rather than a goal in itself.

The strains of urban spread into rural areas also can be lessened by the application of such programs as assistance to housing, sewer and water system construction, health care, education and transportation, as well as the movement toward comprehensive regional planning, noted elsewhere in this report.

Rural-urban social and economic interaction is a factor underlying the entire subject of rural poverty and the rural economy, rather than a "problem" to be approached by itself.

II. WATER SUPPLY

1. PROBLEMS

One of the most serious problems discussed at these hearings is a shortage or lack of a supply of potable water, repeatedly identified with poor housing and with poverty conditions generally. From the record, the problem appears most serious in the bituminous coal regions of Western Pennsylvania, and most of the adverse testimony was given at the Indiana hearing, but water supply was shown to be generally one of the critical needs of rural areas.

The water supply problem divided into two interrelated topics: The inability of existing water supply systems to provide satisfactory service, and the contamination of individual water supply sources of those not served by these systems.

a. On public systems, at the Sunbury hearing, a representative of the Pennsylvania Water Resources Coordinating Committee, an interdepartmental committee at the State level, reported on an inventory which showed 854 public water suppliers: 295 authorities, 211 municipal systems, and 348 private companies; 53 per cent of these had fewer than 500 connectors. Specific figures given at the Indiana County hearing for that county, were 23 suppliers serving 56 per cent of the population; of these, 13 had fewer than 500 customers: the average was 290.

The problems of these small companies and their customers were entered into the records primarily as specific complaints. Generally the systems are old, in many cases they have experienced difficulty maintaining good water sources, and their revenues are not sufficient to capitalize improvements, extensions, or even maintenance. One system was reported to have revenues of $850 per month from a customer charge of $7. A witness reported one system's water testing 2,000 ppm. of dissolved minerals, compared with a State standard of 2 ppm. One witness said:

> *My daughter has seven children, and she tries to wash in an automatic washer, and has to take the filter off four and five times, and she still doesn't have a tub of water. In the water you find tadpoles, leaves, roots, et cetera, and she is only one of a lot of persons down there, and they pay $4.00, a high water bill. They have been doing this for years.*

Others reported corrosion and sedimentation of home plumbing after only a few months' use. The most dramatic incident of this type water was the introduction of actual water samples from an Indiana County system.

There was repeated testimony to unannounced and lengthy service disconnections; in one case, customers were subjected to 32 days without water during a summer. Low pressure was reported because the 50-year-old mains would burst under normal pressures. In one rural community, water rates higher than those in Pittsburgh were reported; another witness stated water bills may run as high as $10 per month or more, billed quarterly and at 10 per cent interest for late payments, described as a severe burden on the poor; others reported that where housing and water systems are under the same ownership, water service disconnections are used to enforce rental payments.

Five persons at the Indiana hearing expressed doubts that the Public Utility Commission fairly represents consumers in enforcing service standards. Others stated that the Department of Health office in Pittsburgh would not investigate, or even take seriously, complaints about water quality. Water authorities also were criticized by two witnesses for unresponsiveness because of their freedom from regulation.

We need a Department of Public Health to monitor more than the bacteria count in public water supply. The water in Coal Run that acts as both a laxative and clothing dye is considered a 'nuisance' factor. The 20-year fight between Robinson, the water company and the PUC has left Robinson with totally inadequate water pressure and questionable quality. We need a Public Utility Commission to be an advocate of the consumer.

At least two communities were reported unprotected by fire hydrants; in one case, described in detail, the hydrants were disconnected because the municipality refused to pay the per-hydrant insurance fee against liability for failure to provide adequate water for fire protection purposes.

b. Problems connected with private water sources included "hidden costs" associated with lower land prices for well-drilling and often private purification; contamination of underground water sources from septic tanks in higher-density areas; and the larger problem of acid contamination of the ground water of entire regions from mines and from unsatisfactory strip mine reclamation practices; one witness accused the State of being an accessory to such contamination because of its regulations on mine reclamation.

The fracturing of gas wells also was described as a factor in pollution from water in abandoned mines.

A more extreme case relating to private supplies was an open pond, covered with "green scum," which served as the sole source of water for 10 to 15 families.

2. LAWS AND PRESENT REGULATING AUTHORITY

The Department of Environmental Resources has responsibility over the quality of a public water supply.

The Department of Environmental Resources has jurisdiction over the quantity of public water that may be withdrawn from a stream and over the issuance of permits for public or industrial water intake and outfall structures so far as they may encroach on streams.

It issues operating permits to water companies (1905 P.L. 260; Act 275 of 1970, Section 1918-A (1)). The Clean Streams Law (1937 P.L. 1987, Article V) requires and empowers the Sanitary Water Board (transferred to the Department of Environmental Resources) to protect public water supplies from pollution.

The Soil and Water Conservation Commission, transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Environmental Resources, has coordination functions in cases where water supply is a feature of a PL 566 project.

The Public Utility Commission passes on rate structures, including quality of service of water companies (1937 P.L. 1053, Section 2; 66 P.S. 1102).

Water supply and distribution facility planning is required by the Department of Community Affairs in all Urban Planning Assistance program studies.

3. PROPOSALS

Witnesses presented various proposals for approaching the water supply problem. Despite the complaints about water authorities, such authorities were suggested by several witnesses as

the best local solutions and there were reports of efforts between authorities and outlying communities to extend water lines.

The model of the Rural Electrification Administration as a cooperative, self-help system was mentioned at two of the hearings, as a suggestion that a similar cooperative arrangement could help solve local water and sewer problems.

Various Federal agencies, especially FHA and HUD, have programs to aid local water and sewer systems, but one witness reported that these agencies have 10 applications for every one for which funds are available. Witnesses and panelists also noted that even high-percentage grant and loan programs are inadequate because the small local companies do not have the financial resources to provide the rest.

It was also pointed out that the cooperation of local governments is needed to obtain government funds, and that township boards in some cases are unsympathetic to the problems of small communities.

There is in the record an implied suggestion that the Commonwealth purchase at least one of the water companies described as providing inadequate service; the testimony indicates that the expected sale price offer would be based on capital investment and recovery of operating losses as shown on accounting records of the company rather than on the present value in view of the extensive reconstruction and expansion which would be required to provide adequate service.

More specific proposals also included a program of water bills in escrow in cases of substandard service, and more diligent enforcement by the PUC and the Department of Health.

It also was reported that some Federal grant programs are not available to communities of less than 6,000 population. A program administered by the Department of Environmental Resources, offering 25 per cent aid for communities of less than 10,000, was reported but not specified.

The only comprehensive approach presented was that of the Water Resources Coordinating Committee. The representative stated:

> *...we are accomplishing such specifics as a definition of public water suppliers' problems, a state-wide inventory of water suppliers, suggested changes in the organizational structure of State government, and recommendations concerning the role the Commonwealth has in the development of water suppliers.*

He stated that the committee is developing a State Water Plan, to be completed over three to five years, and hopes for State appropriations in the range of $12 million to $20 million.

> *It is the opinion of many of the Committee members that a program is needed to provide seed money for rural water systems. This program should be designed to cover the engineering costs of these projects so that a solution can be developed. When the final financing is arranged and the project constructed, where possible, the seed money could perhaps be partially reimbursed thus creating an annual operating subsidy, for perhaps a five-year period, similar to the sewage treatment facility grants, to provide operational and management stability...The immediate response program of seed money would require perhaps $1.8 million for initiation and the basic criteria for assistance should be simply a lack of funds. This would definitely be in the interest of public health and welfare.*

4. COMMENTS

Especially in view of the consolidation of powers under Act 275 of 1970, which established the Department of Environmental Resources, responsibility for requiring adequate service appears divided between that Department and the Public Utility Commission. Conditions described at the hearings appear to have continued over a long period of time, and no comprehensive program of improvement seems to have been enforced, in spite of or possibly because of overlapping jurisdiction.

For immediate correction of inadequacies in rural water supply systems, coordination is needed between the Department of Environmental Resources and the Public Utility Commission to define areas of jurisdiction, standards, enforcement, procedures, and a timetable for performance.

For long range improvement, a comprehensive water plan for rural areas is needed. It is understood that the Pennsylvania Water Resources Coordinating Committee is developing such a plan.

The cooperation of all administrative departments and agencies will be needed and should be immediately available in support thereof.

III. SEWERAGE

1. PROBLEMS

A critical lack of adequate sewerage is identified as a problem in rural areas, particularly at the hearings in the bituminous coal mining regions of Western Pennsylvania. The record describes widespread dependence on outdoor toilets, open ditches of raw sewage running through smaller communities, effluent from cesspools and septic tanks rising to the surface because of impervious substrata, streams polluted with raw sewage, and even cases of houses lacking either inside or outside toilets. Statistics presented for Indiana County showed 35 per cent of housing units connected to public sewer systems, 42 per cent with private septic tanks or cesspools, and 22 per cent - nearly a fourth of the total units - using privies or discharging raw sewage directly into ditches or streams; for Greene County, it was stated that less than 10 per cent of the population is served by public sewerage. The Commonwealth Department of Health (function transferred by Act 275 of 1970 to the Department of Environmental Resources) has carried prosecution of municipal officers to various stages in an effort to enforce the provision of public sewerage. Testimony, however, indicated that because of the chronology of such enforcement, communities subject to court orders have planned or installed separate systems when it would have been more economical for them to establish joint authorities and install common systems. Testimony also states that despite Federal and State assistance programs, small communities usually affected by low personal incomes and other characteristics of a declining economy have no resources for providing the rest of the funds needed. The problem appears to be extremely serious because it is dangerous to public health, it is deleterious to the environment because it is so extensive geographically. Further, its solution is difficult because of the high costs to be anticipated in correcting it.

The problem of adequate public sewerage also was recognized as a factor in the total housing supply, because of the enforcement of State laws which prohibit construction where adequate sewerage is not available and of pertinent regulations governing Federally assisted mortgages. While this problem chiefly affects proposed commuter subdivisions, it also was described as restricting construction of suitable housing to replace substandard rural residences.

2. LAWS AND PRESENT REGULATORY AUTHORITY

Historically, responsibility and initiative for construction and financing of sewer systems in Pennsylvania has rested with individual municipalities, and most of the law regulating construction and financing is contained in the various municipal codes. Any combination of municipalities may, by agreement, construct joint systems. More recently, municipal authorities have been formed for system construction and operation. They are not subject to municipal debt limits, and are less subject to direct pressure in cases of resistance from property owners unwilling to become subject to assessment.

The first, and still an important, avenue of State involvement has been the Clean Streams Law, 1937 P.L. 1987 as amended (35 P.S. 691.1 et seq.). Enforcement powers under this law were transferred from the Department of Health to the Department of Environmental Resources by Section 20 of Act 275 of 1970. Enforcement is by orders to persons, corporations or municipalities to cease polluting streams or bodies of water. Two other statutes, the State Highway Law (Sec. 421, 1945 P.L. 1242, 36 P.S. 670-421) and 1929 P.L. 1586 (36 P.S. 2621-3), prohibit the discharge of sewage within the right of way of any State or public highway.

The Sewage Facilities Act, 1965 P.L. 1535 (35 P.S. 750.1 et seq.), gives the Department of Environmental Resources (transferred from the Department of Health by Act 275 of 1970) the power and duty (Sec. 3) to adopt

> *standards for construction and installation of community individual and community sewage disposal systems and standards for construction, installation and maintenance of community sewage treatment plants*

and requires (Sec. 7 (a)) that

> *No person shall install an individual or community sewage disposal system or construct any building for which an individual or community sewage disposal system is to be installed without first obtaining a permit indicating that the site and the plans and specifications of such system are in compliance with the provisions of this act and the standards adopted pursuant to this act.*

The act requires enforcement by local governments, and by the Department if the local governments fail to act.

The State is authorized to pay annually to each municipality, authority or school district which is in compliance with the Clean Streams Law, 2 per cent of the net cost of construction or acquisition of sewage treatment plants (1953 P.L. 1217 as amended, 35 P.S. 701 et seq.). The Sewage Facilities Act provides for State payment of one-half of the local cost of planning and surveys for sewage disposal systems, and for one-half the cost of enforcement of the act, to the municipalities.

Under the Federal Water Pollution control Act (33 USCA 1151 et seq.), the Federal and State governments together may provide up to 80 per cent (55 per cent Federal, 25 per cent State) of the cost of sewage treatment plants, pumping stations and major interceptors. The Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources and the Federal government have agreed on a 60 per cent formula: The Federal share ranges from 40 to 55 per cent, with the State making up the difference under the Land and Water Conservation and Reclamation Act (Act 433, 1967 P.L. 996, 32 P.S. 5101 et seq.), from the annual appropriation under the $500 million bond issue.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 (Pub. L. 89-117) provides for Federal funding of up to 50 per cent, up to $1.5 million, for the collection system for a regional sewerage project; under Community Facilities, the Federal Government may grant, through the State Department of Commerce, 50 per cent of the cost, up to $50,000 of the development of basic public water and sewer facilities for a community of 5,500 or more.

Additional assistance, both grants and loans, in negotiated amounts, is authorized under various programs by the Farm and Home Administration, based on need, and through the Appalachia program; in both cases, assistance is contingent on qualification for Federal participation under some other program.

3. COMMENTS

The combination of enforcement authority and grant programs currently available would appear to constitute an effective system for correction of the deficiencies in sewerage systems in rural areas. Over an extended period, they may. The principal complaint, however, repeated particularly in the hearings in the Western counties, is that the municipalities do not have the

financial resources to pay even their limited local share, especially for small communities with perhaps 200 residences and seriously affected by a high incidence of poverty. The complaint also was expressed that the Department of Health (transferred to Environmental Resources) has enforced compliance under the Clean Streams Law at different times for nearby communities, resulting in the construction of separate facilities when a joint program would have been more economical.

The Department of Environmental Resources has greatly increased its enforcement activity, primarily under the Clean Streams Law to require construction or improvement of municipal, private, and institutional systems, and under the Sewage Facilities Act to prevent the development of several large commuter subdivisions in rural areas where sewer systems were not provided and soil conditions made septic tanks unsuitable. A serious problem, developing with the enforcement of the latter law, and pointed out at the hearings, is that enforcement may preclude the construction of replacement housing in rural areas where there is no public sewerage. Thus, enforcement tends to perpetuate the conditions of substandard housing.

Because of the extent of the sewerage problem, massive amounts of federal and state funding will be required to correct it. Since the greatest need tends to coincide with the most serious problems of rural poverty, and the least likelihood of local initiative, a continuing program of enforcement by the Department of Environmental Resources, combined with maximum technical support and financial assistance by the Departments of Environmental Resources, Community Affairs, Agriculture and Commerce on a coordinated basis, must be developed to ameliorate those conditions. Federal support, eg., Farmer's Home Administration, must be more responsive to meeting rural needs and the State should actively promote such needs with the Federal government.

IV. HOUSING

1. PROBLEMS

a. General. The difficulties associated with providing adequate housing for the rural poor, as described by witnesses, are complex. The witnesses generally were planners for public and private organizations and agencies, VISTA volunteers who have worked in housing programs and, in some cases tenants who described their own problems.

At all three hearings, housing conditions, particularly for the poor, were described as seriously deficient both in severity and in scope. A typical witness reported, "Housing conditions here are as bad as any which can be found in a large city ghetto". Specific reports included:

Central Pennsylvania - The Susquehanna Economic Development Association reported "a larger percentage of substandard housing in Central Pennsylvania than in urban centers".

Washington County - A Department of Health survey of one village gave housing an over-all grade of "D" which represented severe deterioration and lack of facilities, primarily structurally deficient and lacking bath, toilet and hot water.

Greene County - A survey showed 35 per cent of the housing in the county substandard. A research planner stated: "The amount and severity of poor housing in the open country, in small boroughs and townships, and in Waynesburg is staggering". The vacancy rate is 1 per cent; the need was reported for 600 new housing units. According to a Community Services of Pennsylvania survey 15.4 per cent of the 11,585 occupied housing are without adequate plumbing. Of the children in the Burgettstown Head Start Program, 67 per cent come from homes without in-door plumbing facilities and 49 per cent from houses either cold or no running water. Similar conditions exist for the children in the Sugar Grove Head Start Program.

Indiana County - One-third of all houses were described as unsound, and one-fourth have no indoor plumbing. From 1960 to 1970, the total housing available declined 12 per cent, and the supply of housing available for rent at $60 or less decreased 30 per cent. The County planning commission in 1968 recommended that 1,500 to 2,000 low-cost units be built; only 24 units have ever been built.

The general shortage of housing, combined with the deteriorated condition of existing housing, creates a situation favorable to gross over-pricing of all housing including substandard units, and continuation of deteriorated units on the market. Reported rents for substandard housing ranged up to $150 for a six-room house. The situation also tends to be self-perpetuating because it inflates the prices of run-down housing beyond the means of families who would rehabilitate them, and tends to shrink the for sale market because the rent structure favors retention of these units by the landlords.

The housing situation was reported especially critical for the elderly, many of whom must live alone in inadequate and even dangerous quarters when they should have at least minimal attention.

The one large landlord (700-800 units) who testified admitted that about one-third of the units owned by his firm were in poor condition, but claimed that the interplay of property taxes, mix of good and poor units owned, and tenants' behavior made it uneconomic either to sell individual units or rehabilitate them; he claimed ownership was unprofitable, but said he was holding the units awaiting lot sale to a large-scale purchaser.

Some rural counties were reported to have made progress, especially recently, in taking advantage of programs for construction of housing for the elderly and for low-income families. Mentioned particularly were Jefferson, Clarion and Greene Counties which have a record of several units built and occupied, and more in the application stage. In Indiana County, however, the Housing Authority was criticized by several witnesses and panel members for its poor record of units constructed, lack of current programs, and resistance to appointment of a full-time director offered by the county commissioners.

Over-all, it was reported by a Department of Community Affairs official that the State has about 75 non-profit corporations and housing and redevelopment authorities; that these together have 6,000 units under contract; that $6 million in "seed money" provided by the Commonwealth has produced $84 million worth of assisted housing, including units in the planning stages, and that about 20 per cent of this housing is in smaller communities. However, he stated that "need" is a difficult distinction when used as a criterion for ruling on applications.

b. The nature of the building industry. The industry is primarily comprised of small, limited-production entrepreneurs and the dispersed rural market makes it difficult for this industry to meet the needs; one planner indicated a lack of skilled manpower in quantity production systems. One result is that rural people, with generally low or modest incomes, cannot afford conventional housing at current prices, and a power cooperative representative reported that 60 to 70 per cent of new housing is mobile homes. Meanwhile, much rural housing in existence tends to be large, old houses which are uneconomic for older couples or for purchase by young, small families; costs also force the year-round use of units designed as seasonal dwellings.

c. The application of Federal aid programs. Subsidy approvals were described as discriminatory, with most going to urban areas. Potentially active housing authorities in rural areas were described as unable to approach the demand because of delays, "red tape", the requirement for a Workable Program which municipalities must provide and finance, claimed inefficiencies in the new Pittsburgh regional office of HUD, and soaring construction and financing costs. It was reported that non-profit corporations are at a disadvantage because of the lack of professional staff, and that they may be victimized by professional packagers who take excessive percentages for their services. Also at the local level, problems were found in lack of knowledge of financial assistance available, lack of appreciation of the need for programs, and lack of leadership. Local governments were criticized for laxity in code enforcement which would keep substandard units off the market; conversely, another witness stated that condemnation of structures was useless because there were no alternatives. The Indiana County Housing Authority was particularly criticized for failure to advocate housing programs and for resisting offers to provide it with a full-time director.

d. The role of the "rural slumlord". The general lack of housing encourages retention of grossly substandard units at inflated rents; unreasonable and possibly illegal rental contracts; refusal to rehabilitate or repair (one tenant reported the landlord even refused to act when an entire room collapsed in the house she had occupied for years); refusal to sell any units to potential purchasers who could afford do-it-yourself improvements but could not afford to buy. It was also reported that "slumlords" are not totally responsible; successful farmers often buy up adjacent, unsuccessful units and rent the old farmhouses which often lack basic facilities. Housing for migrant labor was described as a separate serious problem; besides its condition, the shortage of such housing was described as a hindrance to the rural economy in limiting the amount of migrant labor available. Professional landlords were described as purchasing only substandard housing, and were accused of raising the rent if a tenant made substantial repairs himself. The poverty tenant, faced with few or no housing alternatives and dealing on an individual basis with a large-scale owner, often is forced to accept substandard conditions, at rent levels considerable above monthly costs for purchase of a decent home.

2. PROPOSALS

As one witness pointed out, the problem of rural housing must be approached from two major directions: Upgrading existing housing, and increasing the supply of new housing. Specific proposals included:

a. Encourage rehabilitation by Federal, State and local government programs, authority and inducement. Recommended were greater involvement of Federal and State governments in rehabilitation programs, rather than concentrating on new projects; protection of housing consumers by maintaining standards at least equal with FHA requirements; loan programs for low-income families to help them repair and improve their property (FHA funds for this purpose were described as too limited); extend the rent-in-escrow law to include boroughs and townships (advocated by several witnesses) and extension of the law to include utilities where service is inadequate; increased code and zoning enforcement; and rural renewal and rehabilitation as a separate major program (one example, housing rehabilitation by the Youth Corps).

b. Encourage production of housing, to meet urgent and special need of rural areas. Recommendations here included rewriting of programs to channel increased shares to rural areas; expand programs to aid persons living outside project housing - for instance, small new homes for the elderly with caretaker service provided - and expand programs involving home ownership to satisfy the life-style of rural residents; relax HUD requirements which make it impossible for the elderly to retain the proceeds from the sale of their own homes and still be eligible for public housing; provide tax incentives to landholders who sell to non-profit corporations for housing at nominal cost; and change the State "seed money" loans to outright grants.

c. Adopt a comprehensive approach to the rural housing problem. Suggestions in this category include establishment of regional low-income housing development corporations which would operate on a sufficiently large scale to provide needed funds and expertise; a major, concentrated (pilot) program in one area of acute need; administration of grant programs through separate quasi-government corporations to minimize local resistance to State "interference"; cooperation in providing housing by area Councils of Government; organization of a county housing authority as a non-profit corporation so it can use more than one source of Federal assistance (Bucks County); general programs to educate local leaders, the elderly, service agencies, and concerned youth as to the needs of their own areas, and the programs now available; development of industrialized housing technology; and Federal and State participation in promotion of new towns.

3. COMMENTS

As presented, the rural housing problem is serious and extensive; it is closely related to problems of physical and mental health, to the inadequacy of water and sewerage services, and to the general economic conditions of rural Pennsylvania. At least in one county planning for housing appear to be a function not of any public body, but of a few large-scale landlords.

While a variety of approaches was suggested, most involve the investment of considerable money, and most of this from Federal and State Government sources; generally, they call for a re-ordering of priorities in the application of housing programs. Some relief is suggested, however, by exercise of local government authority in enforcement of standards, and in greater awareness of the need for, and advocacy of, public programs which may be available.

Special areas of activity in rural housing improvement involve the Departments of Agriculture, Health, Welfare, and Labor and Industry; but most of the responsibility for program drafting, direction and assistance rests with the Department of Community Affairs, in cooperation with local and regional planning agencies, housing authorities, government officials, and volunteer and non-profit corporations and agencies.

V. MEDICAL SERVICES

1. PROBLEMS

Inadequacies in the delivery of medical services in rural areas generally, and to the rural poor in particular, were identified by witnesses at the hearing as being among the critical and most pervasive problem areas. Except for one physician who testified, witnesses generally represented nonmedical, assistance and advocate agencies. Specific deficiencies reported were:

a. A shortage exists of medical personnel, particularly physicians in general practice. This includes an actual net loss of physicians in practice in at least one area, a high percentage of older doctors in limited practice, and a shortage of younger doctors willing to go into family practice. One county reported 17 physicians, three on limited schedules, and one hospital to serve 110,000 residents. A survey in one county showed 22 per cent of families had no family physician. However, as the physician testified, such statistics may have limited application because patients will travel across county lines, and past several physicians' offices, to the one of their choice. Also reported was a shortage of public health nurses, where any such service is provided at all, the pattern appeared to be one or two visiting nurses for an entire county.

b. Possibly related is the unwillingness or reluctance of some physicians and dentists to accept patients presenting a "DPA" (Medical Assistance) card. One witness reported a sign in a physician's waiting room, "No more DPA patients will be accepted," and the recurrence of this kind of testimony at all three hearings indicates that the policy is sufficiently widespread to constitute a serious problem. One reason appeared to be that payment to the physicians on such claims is slow, and is less than the normal charges for services.

c. A serious shortage of out-patient services exists. Frequently mentioned was the well-baby clinic program, described as being so understaffed that there were long waits for services; so organized that repeated visits, over months, were required to complete immunization schedules; and so dispersed that transportation was represented as a major problem. As a result, it was reported that in one case 75 per cent of the children scheduled missed the clinics; in another, a Head Start health screening program identified widespread dental, visual and speech problems, and a high incidence of anemia, which otherwise would have gone undetected until the children were in school. Also identified were a need for prenatal care, especially among the poor, and unavailability of family planning information; it was stated that some physicians will not provide contraceptive information and devices to welfare patients, compounding the entire problem.

d. Institutional facilities are in short supply. This involves not only the scarcity and wide geographical distribution of general hospitals, but also insufficient convalescent rest and nursing homes, institutional facilities for the mentally retarded, and inadequate first-aid facilities, (the latter mentioned particularly in cases of serious mine accidents).

e. Medical care is expensive. The economics of providing medical services is related to all of the problem areas, but was pinpointed in the hearings in terms of the cost of hospital care ($60 to $120), of nursing home care, and of medicines and drugs which by itself makes them practically inccessible to the poor. The problem was repeatedly stated, for instance, of cases where diagnosis and prescription is of little use because the patient cannot afford to buy the medication.

f. Mental health programs are inadequate. Several witnesses considered mental health as being one of the most neglected areas in the rural health picture. Witnesses pointed out a close association between mental problems and poverty as tending to reinforce each other; the

interrelationships between general health care and mental health, and with general housing and environmental conditions: the relationship between mental problems and retardation, and the lack of prenatal care and the lack of adequate nutrition of preschool children. A witness reported that a 1963 survey in Fayette County showed alcoholism the most serious mental health problem.

g. Governmental neglect of health service delivery was cited. The role of government in provision of health services was addressed directly in relation to (1) inadequacy of the benefit program for miners afflicted with "black lung," a program recently taken over by the Federal Government and described as much improved since that time; (2) failure of some counties to establish health departments; (3) inadequate coverage and services by the State Department of Health; and (4) difficulties in finding county, State and Federal funds to continue a pilot mobile clinic program.

h. The attitude of the poor is significant. This was expressed as a distrust of any person connected with a government program ("They think you're out to get what they have"); a feeling that services are not available to them, or ignorance of available services, which prevent them from seeking help; and failure to continue self-care, such as a family who would not urge their children to wear glasses provided through a school program.

2. PROPOSALS

Various witnesses, including representatives of advocate organizations for the poor and a representative of the medical profession, offered a wide range of suggestions for potential improvement programs. The solutions proposed did not necessarily provide direct answers to all of the problem areas; most represented expansion of pilot programs, importation of programs tested or proposed in other states, or implementation of programs under study but not yet tried in Pennsylvania. These include:

a. Increasing the number of medical professionals by:

(1) Encouraging young physicians to enter practice in rural areas by excusing student loans to those who maintain such practice for five years after graduation.

(2) Establishing a substitute interneship program for graduate medical students, who would enter family practice in place of their hospital residency requirement (under study by the University of Pennsylvania Medical School).

(3) Assigning military physicians to needy areas by the Federal Government.

(4) De-emphasizing specialization in medical schools.

b. Establishing a system of paraprofessional medical service.

(1) Under the program proposed by advocate agencies, nonprofessionals would be trained to perform simpler and routine services under indirect supervision of physicians. These would include diagnostic testing and screening, home health services, and administration of some medication. They would perform at the "neighborhood" level, and could help detect and prevent some of the problems which aggravate the poverty syndrome. (One witness observed that if paramedics did half a physician's work, they could effectively double the number of physicians.)

(2) A variation in the use of military veterans trained as medical nonprofessionals in a similar civilian program. This is in recognition of great efficiency achieved in the military services by training and using enlisted specialists in routine testing and medication.

c. Extending the capacity and coverage of out-patient services.

(1) Establish well-baby clinics in small communities, or extend the hours and available facilities of those in larger centers and provide for transportation to those centers. (It was shown indirectly that Head Start, specifically in Washington County, was providing a diagnostic and referral service and that its experience indicated the present clinics are falling short of reaching the neediest children).

(2) Extension of the program of mobile clinics. The Cambria County pilot had operated for two years with OEO, 72-AID, Health Department and county funds; it was the only one in the State equipped to give direct medical service, as opposed to diagnostic screening only. It cost $30,000 per year, but was in danger of being discontinued for lack of refunding. It was staffed by physicians part-time and by a medical secretary full-time. It was suggested that the facility be tied administratively to a hospital to assist its funding posture.

(3) Improve in-home health care: Increase the number of visiting nurses, and raise their fee from $4 to $10 per visit; use paramedics (Item b above) as home health visitors; as a corollary, depend less on volunteers (described as unreliable) and on other program services (for instance, Meals on Wheels) as home visitors to the ill.

(4) Extend public welfare payments to cover medicines and drugs, by honoring medical cards for medicine purchases and/or issuing "medicine coupons" to those economically eligible in a program similar to the food stamp idea.

(5) Increase the scope of the prenatal clinic program, both to improve the mental and physical health of the children and to provide family planning information and devices.

(6) Expand the system of regional medical centers. (A new center in the Mon Valley was praised as a good example).

(7) Expand and integrate screening programs. Notable examples mentioned were a Washington County program which handled 10,000 persons the first year and 25,000 the second when a transportation program was added; and a church-sponsored "Health Fair". Described as a particular need was a screening program for rubella to prevent birth defects.

d. Expansion of health services on a comprehensive basis.

(1) Increase involvement of educational institutions and public education programs. This includes various specific proposals: All-day schools (Detroit example) to meet health and nutritional needs of children; public health education programs, development of a homemaker's program as a support to adult health education, and a series of newspaper articles ("Hot Line") which explained availability of services.

(2) Increase involvement of county, State and Federal governments. Again various specifics were suggested, or beginning programs were mentioned: Establishment of county or multi-county departments of health in rural areas, funding of mobile clinics, a Department of Agriculture contract for $97,000 from harness racing funds for 3,500 diagnostic screenings the first year, and automatic "black lung" benefits for anyone who has worked 15 or 20 years in the mines.

(3) Increase the available institutional facilities, especially for the mentally retarded and nursing homes, and tie nursing homes administratively to hospitals or medical centers.

(4) Plan health services on a comprehensive basis. Separate suggestions included the establishment of regional health councils as the basic planning units for services; and the merger of programs for the aged and mental health programs into a single program of health services. The Susquehanna Economic Development Association (SEDA) reported that it has been designated a Special Health Demonstration Area and has established the Central Pennsylvania Health Council to plan a comprehensive health system for its area (eleven counties) and is eligible for $2.5 million in Federal funds for this program.

3. COMMENTS

As described at the hearings, the availability of health services in rural areas appears to be marginal generally, and totally inadequate for the rural poor. The multiplicity of both complaints and suggestions indicates serious fragmentation of health service delivery; it is possible that this fragmentation may be the most serious single problem. There was no objection to most of the specific suggestions, but a representative of the medical profession expressed concern over the paramedical proposal in connection with licensing and the potential threat to doctors of malpractice.

While the efficiency of delivery of health services seems entirely the concern of the Department of Health, in fact the Department of Community Affairs is involved through health-oriented programs funded by Antipoverty programs (the mobile clinic, Head Start, and Community Action Programs which include health centers), through its responsibility for local government delivery of services, and through its support of and involvement in county and regional planning. The Department of Welfare is directly involved with relation to issuance of medical cards and payments for services, with relation to its administration of mental health programs and operation of the State's mental hospital system as well as the State general hospitals; and with relation to State assistance in the operation of county homes and hospitals.

Comprehensive health planning, therefore, must intimately involve these departments, in addition to county governments, planning agencies, regional health councils as they exist or may be formed, the professional health associations, and the various volunteer health organizations (TB, Easter Seal, Cancer, Heart, etc.). Each of these is involved in specific kinds of health service delivery; a comprehensive program is needed to coordinate their efforts and to close the gaps.

The improvement of health services for the poor was described as economically important and even beyond its humanitarian urgency. Various witnesses expressed this viewpoint: One

reported that the cost of rehabilitation for one child, handicapped by maternal rubella, ranges from $40,000 to $120,000. Others stated:

> *These people will be a burden on society for the rest of their lives because of their health conditions.*

> *Healthy citizens are less likely to become poverty stricken than sick people.*

Their conclusion was that avoiding the present expense of a complete health service only increases the long-run costs.

VI. WELFARE

1. PROBLEMS

Testimony by several witnesses indicated that lack of local autonomy and extensive administrative red tape have resulted in an inflexible and poorly controlled public assistance program in Pennsylvania. Reports that Pennsylvania had paid $12.5 million of assistance to people who were not eligible (through double or even triple payments) and that some college students were receiving food stamps regardless of their parents' financial status were used to illustrate inadequacies in the delivery system.

Testimony was presented by a mother of eleven children, including a mongoloid child requiring extensive medical care for heart and respiratory ailments, who lost her eligibility for public assistance and food stamps when she accepted employment at a school for exceptional children, because her income was twelve cents a month above the maximum for eligibility. It was felt that effectiveness of the public assistance program was severely hampered by inflexible income limitations with no discretion invested in local authorities to handle extreme hardship cases.

Criticism of the size of public assistance grants was presented by one witness, a director of a County Board of Assistance. He pointed out that although public assistance grants are not determined at 100 per cent of the established cost of health and decency, to his knowledge this standard has not been adjusted since 1959 despite the fact that Pennsylvania's Public Assistance Law specifies that every two years a study will be made to determine the minimum cost of health and decency.

A representative of the Nutrition Aid Program presented several problems inherent in the food stamp program. She testified that many people do not purchase food stamps because by the time they buy in the block amount which must be purchased, they do not have money left for incidental necessities such as washing powder, soap and toilet tissue which may not be paid for with food stamps. She also stated that those who do purchase food stamps frequently bootleg them (although this practice is illegal) in order to get the goods and services they need. The food stamp program also has its drawbacks for the elderly, many of whom do not purchase the stamps because then don't eat enough in the course of a month to make the initial investment worthwhile and, if the initial investment in food stamps were made, they would have insufficient money left for medicine.

While there were incidental references to welfare throughout the hearings, little testimony directed to this problem was given beyond the presentation of statistics as to the number of persons receiving public assistance. This data was primarily an indicator of the extent of rural poverty, rather than a program for improvement.

Problems in finding employment for public assistance recipients who are able to work and in preparing these people for employment were presented by several witnesses. Many apparently employable recipients have such poor reading and writing skills that they are unable to complete an employment application or present themselves to an employer for a job interview. A majority of the young people handicapped by lack of education have no way of obtaining employment skills, since in many rural areas there are no sheltered workshop facilities and no agencies dedicated to the placement of these less than fully employable people.

2. PROPOSALS

a. Employment of recipients

(1) Require all public assistance recipients who are eligible to work to be put to work in order to receive their allocation.

(2) Public works projects (sheep raising, Transportation Department, Environmental Resources).

b. Income maintenance - Federally funded on scale basis to encourage people to get off public assistance and get jobs. Would eliminate red tape.

c. Local autonomy - Vestment of authority with county boards to adjust programs to fairly accommodate cases of special need, and more flexibility to permit approaches which would be likely to reduce future dependence.

3. COMMENTS

Many witnesses mentioned the welfare situation, and several gave specific testimony but without approaching the whole issue of what is wrong with the entire public assistance system. The welfare problem is growing rapidly throughout the State and Nation and cannot be approached specifically as one of rural poverty; however, the hearings showed that welfare is far from just an urban problem. Welfare reform is currently a matter of intensive legislative concern in Pennsylvania; the difficulty of arriving at a workable solution is indicated by the relative lack of suggestions despite the extent of the problem.

The impact of possible legislative changes is uncertain at this time, as indeed is the fate of the legislation itself. Certain administrative changes within the Department of Public Welfare have been initiated. Even these, however, will not achieve desired results in the absence of an overall, comprehensive approach to the delivery of human services.

VII. EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS

1. PROBLEMS

Testimony concerning education and schools in the poverty hearings focused on several problems including:

a. Low educational achievement and verbal skills. The problem of illiteracy is one of the major components of rural poverty in Greene and Washington Counties. Many Washington County persons with whom a board of assistance case worker deals "have poor reading and writing skills and are unable to complete an employment application" and some cannot read the form to sign up for unemployment compensation.

In Greene County, for example, the median school years completed by its citizens was 8.7 in 1960 as compared with a corresponding state median of 10.2 years. Only 29% of Greene County's population had completed secondary education in 1960 as compared with the national figure of 41%.

b. Lack of education help for pre-school children is a serious problem. In Clarion County welfare was termed a way of life for some families but the opinion was offered that children could be helped to change their attitudes and general outlook on life to escape the welfare cycle if helped, especially during pre-school years. Indiana and Northumberland County witnesses echoed this statement, emphasizing the fact that the first five years of age are probably the most important years for a child to be helped and that our priorities in education are backward, that money spent in early childhood education would eliminate much of the more expensive costs of remedial education, agency support and institutional care.

c. One of the most frequently voiced complaints was the need for skills development to become gainfully employed. Indiana and Clarion County witnesses cited the lack of training for both high school students and adults for employment. Persons in low income families were described by a representative of the Indiana County Planning Commission as lacking "salable skills or a strong educational background" and he concluded that with 4.7 per cent of the labor force not employed plus those persons not registered with the Bureau of Employment Security a greater effort must be made to train men and women in salable skills. A witness from the Indiana County Commissioners stressed the fact that not everyone can go to college nor is everyone a potential college student but each person does have talent which the vo-tech schools can help develop. The vo-tech schools can turn out people who are not only productive but make more than an average wage.

d. Low per pupil expenditures by school districts. In Greene County the educational system, although reported as having many new facilities with the outward appearance of being modern and well equipped, was described as lacking in modern methods, equipment and teachers. In 1965-66 the State appropriated an above average per pupil amount of $262 which was barely matched by local school districts in Greene County. This was contrasted with Montgomery County that same year spending 3-½ local dollars for each State dollar appropriated for education. "Local economic ability", the transcript reads, "again comes into focus as the primary force which determines the level of education for a given area". Findings of a U. S. Department of Agriculture report "White Americans in Rural Poverty" were noted as being similar to the all rural western half of Greene County. Cites was the finding that "Educational levels, as in all poverty situations, are low. Likewise, the quality, staffing and facilities of educational institutions trail those of non-poverty locations". Area economic development depends upon industrial and commercial development; attraction of new industry requires, among other things good schools.

In Indiana County per pupil expenditure varied from $650 in Indiana Borough to $400 in Penns Manor School District in the northern part of the county.

2. PROPOSALS

Greene County witnesses reported that county had a head start program for three summers and had submitted plans for another 12 week summer program to O.E.O. to serve all five county school districts.

Indiana, Clarion and Northumberland testimony revealed requests for more head start programs. A Northumberland County witness from Lock Haven Area Joint Schools reported the need to continue their "follow through" program which covers 400 school children and their families and is designed to follow through on head start programs with emphasis on developing to the fullest potential possible the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual attributes of each child.

In Greene County it was reported a vo-tech school costing $1.9 million had been approved and was to be constructed in 1969 in Waynesburg. A witness suggested that the State provide funds and programs that will utilize their vo-tech school to train individuals to meet the needs of their industry.

In Clarion County a witness stated a vo-tech school would help children escape the poverty way of life by training them in some skill.

Indiana County witnesses voiced urgent need to try again to get a vo-tech school primarily for high school students but also to be available for adults as well.

In Northumberland County a representative of the Lower Anthracite Regional Economic Development Organization, Inc. (an organization of 13 communities in northern Northumberland County known as LAREDO) requested that an actual training school be established for operating heavy equipment such as earthmovers, steam shovels, loaders, and graders.

A representative of the Susquehanna Economic Development Association (SEDA) reported that organization will continue to assist in improving vocational education opportunities in the region by assisting local units of government and quasi-public bodies as it has in the past, such as its help in securing grants which helped make possible construction of new vo-tech schools.

3. COMMENTS

The problems associated with the school districts represented in the poverty hearings and the efforts of these districts to educate their children will generally have to be handled by the Department of Education with legislative guidelines. Testimony in the hearings concerning the finances of the districts is too inadequate to make any specific recommendations other than for pre-school or vocational training.

The State's new school subsidy should have important consequences for these counties. In addition to raising the level of State support to $620 per pupil in 1970-71, and $665 in 1971-72, Act No. 88 of 1971 makes other, more significant changes for districts in these counties.

The "poverty" payment of $120 per pupil from low income families is raised to $140. Additional poverty payments are to be paid to districts with substantial proportions of such students, as follows: The State shall pay a special assistance grant to each school district on account of children of low income families in an amount equal to the sum of the number of

children of low income families in the district multiplied by the grant per poverty pupil fixed for the percentage category of poverty pupils in average daily membership in the district according to the following table:

Percentage Category of Poverty Pupils in Average Daily Membership	Grant per Poverty Pupil
15-19.9 per cent	$25
20-24.9 per cent	50
25-29.9 per cent	75
over-30 per cent	$125

Low population districts (under 50 persons per square mile) have been receiving a special sparsity payment. This continues under the new law, which also provides for a modified sparsity payment for those districts increasing in population over the 50 persons per square mile maximum.

Of special interest to these districts is the "bootstrap" provision of the new act. It provides a guaranteed $550 per child expenditure in any district levying a tax rate on market value of 16 - 24/100 mills (.01624), or better, and such tax will not return an amount, including state aid (under the basic grant) of $550 per student, the State makes up the difference. This approach is based on a legislative decision to ensure this level of expenditure (if the district is willing to make a reasonable local effort), even though the taxable wealth of the district is relatively low. In conjunction with the basic state educational subsidy, which does take into account district wealth, the bootstrap concept should be an aid to poorer districts.

Considerable attention has been paid to educational subsidies in urban and suburban areas. Not enough comments have been made about an unusually comprehensive program for less wealthy rural areas.

The following data from the Pennsylvania State Education Association indicates the impact of these programs, by county. (The data is based on information supplied by the school districts to the Department of Education, which compiled these amounts as the estimated increased costs for the next two years if the legislation was enacted which did become Act 88).

ESTIMATES

	Total increase for 1971-72	Additional payments projected for 72-73
Fayette	$1,697,799	$1,683,113
Greene	449,872	289,621
Washington	1,576,501	1,452,470
Indiana	457,438	518,729
Clarion	391,750	549,519
Northumberland	804,255	697,994
Snyder (has 1 Sch. Dist.)	12,300	104,679
Union	55,994	330,710
Montour (has 2 Sch. Dist.)	62,588	329,443

Testimony in the hearings continually voiced needs for pre-school and vocational education and these warrant pursuing by state government and school districts. At the 1971 conference of the Education Commission of the States, an educator argued that in times of limited fiscal

resources, available funds should be redirected to areas indicating greater educational productivity and he cited pre-school and vocational education as two areas especially where additional funds are warranted.

The Department of Education, Welfare and perhaps DCA could help establish, or augment existing, head start and follow through programs in the areas represented in the poverty hearing. Efforts could be made by the Departments of Education and Commerce to assist districts in these areas to get Appalachia funds for vo-tech schools; and perhaps DCA and Labor and Industry could assist with developing and establishing training programs for the adult unemployed in those areas.

VIII. TRANSPORTATION

1. PROBLEM

a. General

Testimony relating to transportation fell into three general areas: Inadequacy or absence of public transportation services, highway construction and maintenance priorities and the specialized transportation needs of particular population groups. No fewer than ten witnesses, most of them representing service agencies or organizations, testified in some way to the inadequacies of public transportation. As one expressed it, "Public transportation, if it does exist, only does so in the highly populated areas of the county, and is often antiquated, priced too high or not extended far enough to service the people who are really in need."

This condition, as do other service inadequacies in rural areas, tends to aggravate the poverty problem and to become cyclical. Three of the witnesses observed (in the words of one planner): "Lack of public transportation results in the immobility of the limited income and elderly people to accept employment or training opportunities in many instances."

Five witnesses at various hearings testified to the actual or expected favorable effects of the more recent construction of expressways through rural Pennsylvania; they were described as important new links with urban areas. However, at least three who spoke felt that the construction of superhighways has been at the expense of improvement and maintenance of local access roads, some of which were described in such poor condition that they will soon be irreparable and will have to be reconstructed.

In addition to those unable to reach potential employment, the elderly, the children and particularly the poor in these classifications are especially penalized by the inadequacy of transportation services. One witness stated, "The rural aged poor living in isolation from services on which their very well-being may depend": These services were identified by various witnesses as shopping centers, doctors, recreation and even church. A worker in a Title I program for poverty children noted that the program's coverage had to be limited because transportation costs would have taken up most of its budget.

Specific problem areas relating to transportation in rural areas are summarized as follows:

b. The areas of the State with the most open land available for development are also those with the least access. This problem relates both to transportation services, and the lack of service and interior roads.

c. While more and better highways were generally endorsed, it also was pointed out that highway construction itself may represent a problem in its high cost, in its destruction of housing (already in short supply) and land for development, and because its economic impact on a particular area tends to be short-lived.

d. For those who have transportation available, usually automobiles, the higher costs of this transportation tend to dilute the "lower cost of living" associated with rural areas. For those without transportation and who are unable to reach larger service centers, higher and even exorbitant prices at local stores have the same effect.

e. Rural dispersion makes good public transportation economically infeasible, at the same time that this service would be of relatively higher value for rural residents.

f. The transportation situation strongly encourages continued poverty and dependency on welfare, because the assistance recipient cannot buy a dependable auto which would enable him to reach employment. A caseworker described this syndrome of failure of a $200 car which leads to absenteeism and soon to hopelessness and continued unemployment.

g. Since the State does not reimburse school districts for kindergarten transportation, where districts will not assume this cost the poverty children, who might benefit the most from this early education, are least likely to be served.

h. As was noted above, the inadequacies of public transportation at least reduce the quality of life for many rural residents, and in more than a few cases may be of positive danger to their health.

i. While only mentioned briefly by witnesses, the general transportation situation is a severe economic liability to rural Pennsylvania, and may be basic to the entire effort to upgrade the economy as the only reasonable long-range solution to the rural poverty problem.

2. PROPOSALS

Suggested solutions to rural transportation problems generally followed three directions:

a. Reordering of State highway priorities. This most commonly meant a shift in emphasis from building expressways to improvement, maintenance and construction of local and feeder roads. One planner suggested a capital budget-six year plan for secondary roads, similar to the present programs for new highways. A panelist noted that PennDOT has stated it will put increased emphasis on highway maintenance, but probably not to the extent recommended by witnesses.

b. Improvement of public transportation services. Perhaps significantly, no witness suggested that such improvement is feasible for privately owned carriers. Most commonly suggested (three persons each) were legislation and funds to permit and finance the use of school buses during off-hours to transport particularly the elderly and ailing poor, and institution of "dial-a-ride" systems using minibuses, or rotating routes which would serve different areas on different days. Also suggested was State provision of minibuses to social service centers. A United Fund representative noted that adding transportation to a health screening program in its second year more than doubled the participation. Also suggested were subscription-type transportation services, and elevated catwalks in urbanized areas.

c. Concentration of development in areas best served by transportation. This approach was represented by suggestions for new towns, or "growth centers" expanded from existing communities, in areas close to major highways and airports. Also included was a suggestion for Habitat type residential clusters (presumably for the elderly and poor) to sidestep the transportation problem.

3. COMMENTS

While comprehensive planning and programming were suggested by witnesses to solve most problems of rural poverty, only one, in a detailed, extensive prepared program, suggested that funds for resolution of transportation problems for the aging be made available to local planners. By long tradition, Pennsylvania has left planning and provision of public transportation services to private initiative, under regulation by the Public Utility Commission, and has looked to a single State department for planning, construction and maintenance of the more important parts of its highway system. We have little background in consideration of, or planning for, a single intermodal transportation system intricately associated with the entire economy.

The transfer of State programs for assisting mass transit to the new Department of Transportation, and a new emphasis by that department on secondary roads, represent steps toward solution of the problems presented. However, assistance programs have been concerned primarily with maintaining services which may otherwise fail, and these serve urbanized areas. Legislative efforts have been made to make school buses available for other uses during the day, but if we are to continue to depend upon private enterprise to provide the bulk of public transportation services, safeguards will be needed to prevent further shrinkage of their market.

The Department of Transportation is in the process of developing a Statewide, all-modal transportation plan, and responsibility at the State level for solutions to most rural transportation problems rests primarily with PennDOT. The Departments of Community Affairs, Education, Welfare and Health, however, should approach the transportation problems of the poor, especially the aged, the young and the handicapped, by development of programs of specialized services on a regional basis in cooperation with each other and with the Public Utility Commission, local government officials, planners, and representatives of service organizations.

IX. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RURAL POVERTY

1. PROBLEM

Throughout the record of all three hearings, witnesses referred in various ways to the adverse effects of poverty on the attitudes and the mental health of its victims and the attitudes of the rest of the community toward them.

The SEDA representative related attitude problems to many others:

> *What are some of the problems of the hard core poverty cycle which keep people from breaking out? They are legion: Old age, physical disability, mental retardation, hearing loss, failing vision, poor health, malnutrition, overweight, lack of confidence, limited social skills, poor appearance, poor grooming, bad personal habits, bad work habits, unreliable transportation, isolation, illiteracy, no marketable employment skill, lack of employment opportunities, bad associates, irascible nature, neurotic behavior, no working capital, inadequate clothing, too many children, defeatism, discouragement, disaster loss - the list is endless. Most of the families who are trapped in hard core poverty situations are beset by so many problems that despair finally takes over and despair gives way to resignation or apathy.*

Another witness, a Follow-Through director for a school district, identified and submitted a detailed description of what she called a "culture of poverty," a particular life-style of the rural poor. She stated that seldom do they become angry, and almost never physically violent; the principal attitudes are apathy and hostility toward anyone representing the "establishment" based on fear and distrust. She noted, for example, reluctance to enroll children in the program. She and others stated that the poor are unaccustomed to an eight-hour, five-day work week and may walk off to go hunting, a reaction exasperating to the community.

The long history of poverty itself was referred to as promoting apathy: "We have lived with the conditions of poverty in Indiana County for so long that we have come to accept them as inevitable, unavoidable." Another witness noted the demoralizing effect on poverty children of long-time family unemployment and financial instability; others working in programs directed at children testified that they were able to help the childern's attitudes but not those of the parents.

Aside from the psychological characteristics of the poor themselves, several witnesses identified a community attitude of oppression, retaliation and aggressiveness toward the poor. One woman testified to a bitter confrontation with a dog-catcher which resulted in a severe fine; other incidents related to threats against persons associated with such activism as complaints to official agencies and letter-writing. While most of the rural poor are white, racism is a factor in some communities; an extensive human relations program for Uniontown was entered into the record.

Still another attitudinal problem relates to the solidification of status and power structures in poor communities. The director of a county industrial development corporation stated:

> *The older residual population of these areas has been unable to provide local leadership skills and trained personnel for government. All of this has further tended to emphasize the status quo position of some groups, usually including the existing power structure and frequently the large land holders as it is easier to keep political power with a declining population than in a growth area.*

In line with this was a finding by a VISTA worker that the program had produced a discernible change of attitude among the poor, but not among the personnel of official agencies; another witness, testifying about the mobile health unit, noted: "There is no apathy with those who need it, but there is an awful lot of apathy in those (public agencies) who have the money."

A witness noted that fragmentation of services results in a variety of social workers -- welfare, probation, health – dealing with each family, and none of them in a position to approach the families' total problems. This form of governmental response to poverty problems was cited as a factor contributing to attitudes.

2. COMMENTS

The psychology of poverty in urban settings has been well studied by now; it is likely that many conclusions may be applicable to the rural poor with the exception that isolation and the tight community structure probably tend to intensify the problem. It should be recalled, however, that the urban poor were comparatively apathetic in not too distant history, and the effects of social programs among the rural poor have not yet developed or been strongly expressed.

Recommendations for attitude improvement, per se, were restricted to educational programs for the poor, including parents; coordination of delivery of social services; and community human relations and sensitivity programs. Because of the close interactions of attitude, status and economics within a community, however, processes corresponding to those which are occurring in urban areas can be expected to affect the rural areas at some time. Any line of action which improves the rural economy, absolutely or relatively, will change attitudes, and such an economic effect probably is the only one which will produce the massive changes indicated.